578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó, [123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
K6 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned [627] from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur- [224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take [352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 68). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects [352] [342] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12 appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do- 352 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against 415 the wall, there are Kamairahó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

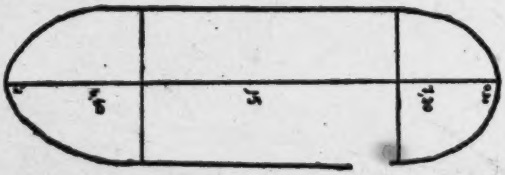

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

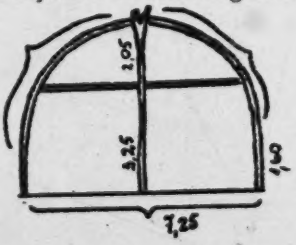

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

114 171 513 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 516 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 513 841 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture. Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 513 352 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors. The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 171 352 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural

trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetõ, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixũ (Krause, ibid.), the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of the Auetõ and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apũkáp in Von den Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apũka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

171 As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

142
302
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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

142
302
352

Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--174 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 11

The initial phase in the making of tamankurá (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 12

Putting the tamankurá on the girl's ankle. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

264 476 574 [224] such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and [362] thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinkí of both sexes sat [952] [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinkí and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

264 476 Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi house and in the takána.

[574] [611] Aside from the tatáupãua, there is another institution which also involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose,

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[489] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
●352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]